

English Applied Linguistics PhD Program  
Graduate School in Linguistics  
University of Szeged

**Identity Negotiation through the Lens of Language Rights: Refugee and Migrant  
Children and Youths in MissionPlace\*, Budapest**

Summary of the dissertation

**Garzón Duarte Eliana**

Supervisor:  
Dr. Barát Erzsébet

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## **1. Introduction**

Migration implies significant changes in the way of one's life. It requires adjustments that lead to facing new realities in the resettlement place. These modifications entail an open and receptive mind, not only from the newcomers but also from the locals in the host country. This interaction between cultures, ways of thinking, languages, socio-economic backgrounds constitutes a decisive moment to reshape and negotiate identities as individuals and try to achieve a balanced process of integration. Migrants find themselves struggling daily with their own beliefs, values, and traditions to find their place in the new context. All these changes and the learning experiences make them different people in the process of negotiating identities. In the research field of language and identity, there have been interesting studies of negotiation and construction of identities in relation to multilingual individuals (Llamas & Watt, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Pavlenko, 2004) with a focus on the process lived by refugees. Assumptions and prejudices affect this negotiation, such as the language ideology that conflates languages spoken and cultural identity.

People routinely associate the speaker's identity with one nationality, one particular language, and one culture. This assumption then makes people on the move feel they do not belong to the new community of their arrival. These cases of migration can be studied to unravel those spaces of belonging that set up symbolic barriers, or rather barriers in one's life that are mediated through the meanings of 'language' and its perceived relationship with the speaker's identity (Garzón Duarte, 2018). These studies may broaden the horizons to understand the connection between language, identity, and ideology. The purpose of this study is to explore the linguistic dimension of discrimination in education with a specific focus on migration in the broad field of linguistic diversity and social justice, which is a highly invisible aspect of social vulnerability. More specifically, this study aims to investigate the potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children and youth in the Hungarian education context in the wake of the global migration of 2015. The ultimate focus is on the negotiation of identities these children perform to position themselves in the new society.

The study was conducted in an NGO in Budapest that is called MissionPlace\* (pseudonym for protection). The definition of 'child' that is implied in this thesis is the one stated in Article 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989): "A child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (p. 2). Likewise, 'youth' is referred to as a participant between 15 and 24 years old, according to the definition provided by the United Nations (1985).

## **2. Theoretical framework**

The main theoretical framework for this study is the scholarship that explores the connection between language (use) and identity proposed by Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2004, 2005) on the one hand and the scholarship on language, integration, and migration within the linguistic justice paradigm as developed by Ingrid Piller (2016) and Lionel Wee (2011). Linguistic integration is often understood as the way the state assures migrants speak the language of the political state or the national language. The justification for such policies is the migrants' need to participate in society and the economy. This argument allows us to critically explore how much language mediates conditions of social participation and how language is related to social justice (Piller, 2016). In order to understand how to achieve equal participation, it is necessary to study the main policy initiatives in the educational system, if and how much the integration through language (use) has worked. According to García and Wei (2014), the idea and institution of 'national language' match the linguistic features of those who exert power and authority, whilst the different linguistic features of others, especially that of migrants, are devalued or even explicitly stigmatized. Migrants find themselves forced to interact in a new communicative context and to participate socially in the new context through unfamiliar language practices. In that social context, it is of particular relevance to studying what different languages may mean for the newly arrived people's sense of identity and belonging.

I draw on the sociocultural linguistic approach to study the connection between identity and language. This approach is proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), and it is based on five principles: the emergence principle, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle, the relationality principle, and the partialness principle. The authors argue that identity emerges in social interaction as part of discourse. Therefore, the emergence and positionality principles are the two principles that reject the static view of identity as a matter of decontextualized being in social sciences. Furthermore, the indexicality principle focuses on the linguistic resources whereby interactants indexically position themselves and others in discourse. The relationality principle explains how identities are relationally constructed through different aspects of the relationship between self and other. Finally, the partialness principle considers the constraints on individual intentionality in the process of identity construction, based on the macrostructures of discourse such as ideologies and the role of agency in the course of negotiating identities.

## **3. Research questions**

In accordance with the purpose of the study, there are one main question and four sub-questions addressed:

How do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school?

(a) How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary?

(b) What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?

(c) How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary?

(d) What is the role of MissionPlace\* in the social inclusion of these children?

#### **4. Methodology**

Narrative inquiry is the approach to researching identity formation of the participating refugee children and youth. Narratives, as a genre of discursive practices, are used to interpret and understand the narrator's lived experiences constructed as stories. In this research, narratives are the site of discourse where the negotiation of identities is studied. Since the main purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian educational context and the ways in which they can negotiate and solve those conflicts. The setting selected to do the ethnographic fieldwork was an NGO called MissionPlace\*, which I could enter under the terms of anonymity. They work with the refugee and migrant population in Budapest. This organization provides different services such as housing, Hungarian language courses, adult vocational training and education, job search support and coaching, assistance for the integration into the school system for children and youths, and above all, a supportive community in the new (alien) context.

The participants were strategically selected following the characteristics of purposeful sampling in order to work with children and youth. The selection of the migrant children was based on their age and schooling in Hungary. The group eventually was made up of 22 participants, 11 girls and 11 boys, their ages ranging between 11 to 23 years of age. At the time of their participation, all of them were enrolled in a local school or had graduated from a Hungarian school. There were two other groups of participants: one representing the staff in MissionPlace\*, the other comprising teachers of schools where the migrant children were enrolled.

Participants of the study signed consent forms as a way of ensuring the confidentiality and anonymity of the data. Moreover, the use of pseudonyms for places and names of participants was also a requirement I observed and applied in the study. Although interviews

were used to generate data, they varied with the three groups, which definitions are explained in the chapter of the methodology of the thesis. For the children and youths, narrative interviews were the instrument used. For the group of staff in the NGO, I conducted ethnographic interviews, while the school teachers were interviewed with a semi-structured guide of questions. In order to become part of the participants' life in \*MissionPlace and establish rapport and trust, I volunteered for this NGO doing tutorials in English, French, or Mathematics for the children and youth; teaching Spanish; playing with the little ones; and sharing time with the community through different recreation activities from October 2018 to May 2019, three days a week on the average.

The data analysis procedure for the narratives of the kids was conducted following the five principles to study identity proposed in the sociocultural linguistic approach by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). Each narrative was analyzed individually as a whole unit of discourse according to the methodological approach I followed. The other two sets of data resulting from the interviews with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace\* were analyzed using thematic analysis, as developed by Braun and Clarke (2006), to identify the ideas these participants had regarding the migrant children and the educational process in Hungary.

## **5. Findings in children's narratives**

Since the purpose of this dissertation is focused on the process of identity construction and negotiation pursued by migrant children and youths the analysis of their narratives followed the interactionally oriented sociocultural linguistic approach by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). The process of transcription was the initial moment to interpret the interview data. The actual data analysis drew on the five principles proposed in the sociocultural linguistic approach as a narrative analysis technique.

The analysis was to investigate potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian educational context and the ways in which they were resolved. The two sub-questions pivotal for exploring the insights into the children's and youths' narratives were (a) How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary?; (b) What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?

After analyzing the narratives individually following the principles of sociocultural linguistic approach, I arranged similar data across the 22 narratives to describe the characteristics found and categorize the data. The titles of these categories which represented the similar data were established out of the key words of the research questions that led the study: (1) Fleeing from war and envisioning their future, (2) acting as conduits for

understanding between Hungarian and their mother tongue, (3) navigating between two cultures, (4) overcoming the language barrier in school, and (5) empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian.

The first category interweaves the themes related to the agency these migrants have enacted in their lives across time and space to overcome hardships and envision their future. One of the remarkable aspects of the narrative approach was the emphasis on understanding every child and youth as individuals, rather than members of a collective group of refugees or migrants. Identities cannot be assigned as labels, but understood as fluid, flexible, complex, and multifaceted formation resulting from social interaction. The discourse of refugees or the perception non-refugee people have about refugees, as a group, is constructed under the premise of essentialization, that homogenize groups of individuals mistakenly. In this respect, Shapiro (2014) affirms that these discourses of essentialization to refer to refugees, position them as passive recipients of social support from the nations, governments or NGOs and limit their negotiations of identities, which would make them active agents of their social and individual development in the society. Thus, the concept of agency is crucial in this negotiation of identities in the sense that it makes individuals resist, transform, negotiate their encounter, as it is presented in Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), who emphasize their work on the connection between human agency and negotiation of identities as well.

In the second category, there are two broad themes that emerged from the narratives. One of them has to do with the role of translation in these children's lives and, the other one, the concept of translanguaging and what it represents in their stories. It is interesting to observe how these children gain the ability to translate or being translated by others. The concept of agency was crucial to understand these positionings in interaction. Their role as translators between their mothers and the people they encounter in the settings in the host society functions as an autonomous practice that provides independence and generates some form of empowerment in the various settings. Conversely, as Cronin (2006) states, their role as subjects of translation locate them in a different position that is characterized by submission and passivity. This author has worked on the links between translation and migration, and he also explains the autonomous and heteronomous types of translation practices to emphasize if the migrants are the ones who translate or the ones who are translated by others. Furthermore, the concept of translanguaging, which is the process whereby multilingual speakers use their languages as an integrated communication system, emerged in the narratives and was in relation to what García (2009) proposes as a political act and a critical response to the monolingual bias of current education policy.

The third emergent aspect from the analysis of the narratives concerns the continuous navigation between two cultures. Children and youths, varying with their age, articulated multi-faceted self-identities, combining and retaining identity traces from the home country and the host culture. Even those children who were born in Hungary or have lived for many years here, perceive themselves as part of their home country's culture and that of the Hungarian one. Therefore, in the narratives of these children, the ethnicized identities, proposed by Phoenix (2010), are suitable to depict the characterizations implicit in their stories. These identities are "socially constructed, multiple, potentially contradictory and situationally variable" (p. 298), hence, they emerge as processes of construction, negotiation, and contestation in social contexts. In terms of Blommaert and Rampton (2011), Pennycook (2012), Canagarajah (2013), Márquez Reiter and Martín Rojo (2014), the translocal, transcultural and translingual practices are the ones that support the social acting of children and youths when struggling the conflicts that they experience between their ethnic background and the new culture they are immersed in. In these situations, they negotiate their identities across shifting social networks, boundaries, and communicative practices as agents of their own identity construction.

The fourth category gathers the difficulties children face in the school because of language. Learning Hungarian is necessary, yet it is not provided by the government: it is the children and their parents who have to find NGOs, such as MissionPlace\*, where they can receive academic and linguistic support. The participants in my research routinely expressed their frustration and demotivation due to the fact that despite knowing the contents of the subjects in their mother tongue or a foreign language, such as English, they cannot participate or respond, nor feel part of the class at school as a result of the language barrier. The linguistic diversity that students bring to school is ignored, as Gogolin (2021) argues. Literacy skills and contents are not at the expense of the proficiency in the majority language as it is argued in the concept of monolingual habitus "founded on the basic and deep-seated conviction that monolingualism in a society, and particularly in schools, is the one and only normality forever and always valid" (Gogolin, 1997, p. 41). In Ndhlovu's (2015) words, most research encourages the false impression that language is an entity that one can embody, which is what has come to be known as the monolingual mindset, predominantly in immigrant contexts. Likewise, Benson (2014) affirms that "a monolingual habitus causes us to see a learner as deficient if she/he does not speak the dominant language used for instruction" (p. 284). The linguistic barriers these children and youths have to overcome every day in school are one of the main causes of their frustration and sometimes feeling of not being recognized by their Hungarian-born peers and teachers.

The fifth category is focused on the degree of the youngsters' empowerment, integration, and the different ways in which they are grateful for the support they have received in Hungary. One of the emergent elements in these youths' narratives was the gratitude and the perception they have of speaking the language of the host country as a response of thankfulness. In relation to this topic, Back (2003) demonstrates how the narratives of gratitude can be the articulations of unequal power relations underlying the relationship between refugees and the host society. However, reciprocity is another implicit characteristic of this expression of gratitude which may position the youths as active participants in the host society. Furthermore, the phenomenon of being heard empower these children and youths in the host society, as Warriner (2007) claims, because of the assumptions put on them by those speaking the majority language regarding membership in the society and access to resources. Therefore, the competence in the language of the majority can act as a gateway to success and to gain social integration, as these kids and youths feel, because of the language ideologies and practices that support and are supported by symbolic domination, as Relaño and De Fina (2005) argue. In the same vein, the refugee and migrant children must be seen as individuals who are capable of moving between linguistic worlds without imposing one on the other, because they are not intrinsically tied to their native language as an entity. Thus, May (2001) asserts that "it needs to be clear that the advocacy of minority language rights is not about replacing a majority language with a minority one. Rather, it is about questioning and contesting why the promotion of a majority language should necessarily be at the expense of all others" (p. 380).

## **6. Findings in interviews with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace\***

These interviews were conducted with eight participants from schools and 12 participants from MissionPlace\*. This analysis followed the guidelines of thematic analysis and rendered them into three salient categories that answered two research sub-questions: (1) How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary? (2) What is the role of MissionPlace\* in the social inclusion of these children? The three thematic categories were (1) invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policies, (2) building boundaries in the classroom through monolingual teaching practices, and (3) MissionPlace\* as the place of mediation between children, family, and school.

In the first category, the themes related to the legislation of migration in Hungary and the educational policies regarding the inclusion of migrant children in their guidelines were gathered. Here, the intercultural pedagogical program that has been implemented since 2005 was the one that teachers recognized as part of an integration program for multiculturalism and multilingualism. This program enables primary and secondary schools to develop and maintain



extracurricular education activities to help migrant children learn the Hungarian language and reach the school curriculum. However, it is not mandatory, and each school is left to decide if they implement it, depending on the particular teachers' willingness to work with it. Moreover, the Government's anti-immigrant campaign since 2015 indexes the hostile official education policy that undermines the educational integration of migrant children. Such a policy is not a priority at all. This campaign and the lack of educational policies to integrate migrant children from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds gets in the way of considering linguistic and cultural diversity as a rich resource of learning for the majority of children as well.

In the second category, the themes concerning the language of instruction in the mainstream classes and the monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1997; Piller, 2016) of the school are gathered. This situation results in linguistically mediated social injustice that is evident in the classrooms of linguistic diversity. The increasing presence of migrant children in Europe, including Hungary, however, makes linguistic and cultural diversity visible in schools. This visibility could invite policymakers to rethink its consequences for the conception of education and to come up with practices improving the conditions of schooling, recognizing the intercultural benefits of the multicultural and multilingual constellation of classrooms for all the students. One of the responsibilities of schools is precisely to extend the in-class practices to families and local communities to use the rich resources that linguistic and cultural diversity brings. In fact, migrant children with their languages, traditions, cultures, way of thinking, along with parents' support, teachers, and other stakeholders, contribute to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong opportunities for everybody. This policy could be achieved by the multilingual habitus (Benson, 2014), which makes the language of instruction explicit through the development of appropriate materials that reflect the linguistic diversity of the learners and the community they belong to.

And the third category explains the important role played by MissionPlace\* as the mediator in the school-parents relationship and in the children-parents relationship as well. One of the first things that MissionPlace\* offers when new refugee or migrant families approach the organization, asking for orientation in the process of integration, is finding a school or kindergarten for their children. According to the Hungarian National Act of Public Education (2011), the schools that enroll these children are located in the same district where these children live, which makes it difficult for them to develop a community through the school, which is yet another reason for MissionPlace\* to become the community center for these refugee families and their kids.

## 7. Discussion

Migrant and refugee children are first and foremost children. The Council of Europe (2021) affirms that states must respect children's rights. Child migration is a common phenomenon and has been increasing lately because of fleeing persecution, war, violence, reunion with family members abroad, and a search for better economic and educational opportunities (International Organization for Migration, 2021). Some of them set forth on the journey with their parents, and some others, unaccompanied. It is interesting to know that most of these children who migrate with their parents did not make the decision to do it, but they were subjected to their parents' decisions. This forced displacement carries a feeling of uprooting that influences the individual and social development of these children. Every child is unique, and as such, brings with him/her experiences, stories, and memories that will be drawn on at the moment of interacting. Interaction is a social practice, and thus the concept of the social is the axis to understand how identities are the result of contestation and negotiation in discursive scenarios. Identities are flexible, multi-layered, adaptable constructions in dialogue with others. In this interaction, different factors, external or internal, intertwine to make meaning and create positionings that represent specific moments within the interaction. These stances are shaped in a continuous relationship of self and other.

Within this framework of child migration and the implication it has for children's social development, it is important to recall that the understanding of identity along this study has drawn on the definition by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), as "the social positioning of the self and others" (p. 586). That is why different authors talk about identities instead of a single identity. The current study analyzes these identities in the youths and children through the interpretation of their narratives from a sociocultural linguistic perspective. Narratives are a form of discourse, which displays different positions and roles that the teller takes in the organized events or stories he/she is narrating. Therefore, narratives are key accounts to understand the negotiations of identities through linguistic resources and discursive elements participants use.

The principle of emergence worked as a line intersecting multiple dimensions of identity. This principle was applicable in all instances of identity construction. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity, as emergent, can be unraveled when linguistic features show the deviance of the social category to which individuals are normatively assigned. *Empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian* articulated the identities in scenarios of gratitude and empowerment in the process of integration. The role language has in social inclusion is of significant importance from the youths' perspective in the sense of feeling integrated into the host community and being heard by the speakers of the dominant language. However, it is important to mention that the different negotiations of

identity are not mutually exclusive, but they are contesting, constructing, and emerging at the same time.

The principle of positionality encompasses constructs of social subjectivity, local identity categories, and transitory interactional positions, rather than a collection of broad social categories that frequently circulate in research when exploring identity. Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) state that identities entail "(a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (p. 592). Macro-level demographic categories, such as age, gender, and ethnicity, are complemented by negotiation with local cultures and attitudes in interactions with others. *Navigating between two cultures* is the interpretation of the struggles these children experience when the culture of their home country encounters the culture of the host society. These face-to-face struggles are shaped within macro-structures of power that frame beliefs, traditions, and behaviors in the individuals, which definitely affect the process of negotiation of identities according to the social context where these youths interact.

The principle of indexicality entails the identity relations through the use of language. Linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions that are the result of interactional contexts, but at the same time, are linked to social meaning. An index is a linguistic form that depends on the interactional context to have meaning. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), indexical processes happen at different levels of linguistic structure and use, including "(a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (p. 594). *Overcoming the language barrier in school* is one of the categories that represent the struggles these children and youths have to face when living two simultaneous processes. One of them is learning Hungarian, and the other one is trying to understand the contents of the school subjects and learn. The traces of identity that are unveiled in the narratives shift across different feelings and positionings related to their configuration as Hungarian learners.

The relationality principle highlights that identities are not seen as autonomous or independent, but that emerge as the result of social interaction, which creates meaning in relation to other identity positions. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describe identities as intersubjectively constructed through complementary relations, including "similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy" (p. 598). *Acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and the mother tongue* gathers the identities these youths negotiate in school and other social contexts when facing contradictory linguistic

needs. They can shift from translators to translated, depending on the interactional situation they are experiencing. They become translators for their mothers, who do not speak Hungarian and translated by classmates to bridge over linguistic needs in school. Other traces of identity that are revealed in the narratives are related to language users through the translinguaging strategy. These youths draw on the languages they use to make communication possible in specific situations.

The principle of partialness is the consequence of the relationality principle. As identity is relational, it will always be partial due to the contextually situated and ideologically configurations of self and others in which identity is constructed. Any construction of identity is in constant movement as the interaction evolves. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is not only contextual but also ideological; it is partially deliberate and intentional. Identity can be purposefully portrayed, but at the same time, it is negotiated in interaction; it is partially an outcome of others' perceptions and an effect of larger ideological processes as well. The principle of partialness entails the dynamic and multifaceted ways in which identity is constructed and facilitates the understanding of identity as a phenomenon relying on agency as social action. *Fleeing from war and envisioning their future* is one of the interpretations I gave to the negotiation of identities these youths unfolded in their narratives. The multiple social positionings these children have determined through their social action in specific contexts of interaction have shifted across time and space. Thus, agency as social action is decisive in these negotiations of identity. These social positionings are constructed in relation to macro-social categories that have been imposed by the media, where refugees are represented as dependent, passive, and voiceless.

The third sub-question addressed how school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary: It is captured in the data by two thematic categories. The first thematic category is *invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policies*. The integration process and education of migrant and refugee children should go hand in hand, as stated by the European Commission (2019): "A student who is well-integrated into the education system both academically and socially has more chance of reaching their potential" (p. 9). However, migrant and refugee students face a number of challenges at school, above all learning and being assessed in the language of the host society. To achieve that, the most important aspect that the teachers I approached highlight as crucial in the integration process of these children is the learning of Hungarian. For them, the teaching of Hungarian needs to be learned and mastered to a sufficiently high level in order to learn other subjects. Therefore, teachers and principals I approached consider that proficiency in the language of instruction facilitates the socialization process in schools. All the

school teachers and principals agree that both the enrollment of the children and the ways of assessing their progress or diagnosing their academic performance are the responsibility of and depend on the decision of the principals. There are no rules in place in Hungary for schools about how to proceed when new arrivals access the school. The only policy regulation for the inclusion of migrant children in the schooling system in Hungary was an intercultural program issued in 2005 by the Ministry of Education, which describes guidelines for educating non-Hungarian children on the basis of the principles of interculturalism.

The other thematic category is *building boundaries in the classroom through monolingual teaching practices*. The principals and teachers I approached agreed that the pedagogical basis of schools is on mainstream education. The increasing presence of migrant children in Europe makes linguistic and cultural diversity visible in schools, requiring the conception of education to be reviewed and reimaged in order to guarantee an education with intercultural benefits for all the students. One of the responsibilities of schools is precisely to extend the indoor practices to families and local communities to use the rich resources that linguistic and cultural diversity brings. In fact, migrant children with their languages, traditions, cultures, way of thinking, along with parents' support, teachers, and other stakeholders, contribute to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong opportunities for everybody.

Regarding my notes during my volunteering and the interview data I collected from the teachers and staff at MissionPlace\*, the most important finding is their intermediary role. The involvement of parents in their children's schooling plays a significant role in the process of integration. The main channel of communication and mediation in different conflictive situations that emerge in the parents-children relationship is MissionPlace\*. The first contact with schools, the school meetings, the conflicts that emerge in the setting of the school related to these children are supported by the NGO. According to the interviewed school teachers and principals, one of the salient themes when analyzing the data was the importance of establishing links between schools and migrant children's parents. The role parents have in the schooling of these children can help improve their achievement and influence children's attitudes towards other cultural groups, as is presented by Van Driel, Darmody and Kerzil (2016). Thus, the mediation that MissionPlace\* has performed to support this process of engaging parents in their children's learning has been valuable.

## **8. Conclusion**

The diverse elements of the analysis of the narratives are framed by the five principles proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), which conceive identity as a social and culturally

constructed phenomenon during an interaction. Language is the vehicle to construct identity, and it is embedded in ideological processes and structures of power that influence the formation of identities. The actual ideologies figuring in the narratives are the monolingual ideology that underlies educational and social integration practices and policies, the favoring of national homogeneity over multiculturalism so that integration is achieved through the learning of the host language rather than the promotion of multilingualism, and the equivalence of educational attainment and proficiency in the language of the host country. These ideologies reinforce the unequal relations between children and youths with a migrant background and Hungarian-born children.

For the purpose of this study, it was not necessary to apply the five principles to their fullest but to consider the main aspects that each principle implies. In fact, through the narratives, it was evident that identity positions are articulations of the interactions among these children and youths and other people in the school, such as classmates, teachers, and outside the school, such as neighbors and the NGO staff. These social interactions are crucial to understanding how identity is constructed and negotiated according to what characterizes the principles of emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness. Identity, as multilayered, performs conflicts, struggles, and gaps. The conflicts narrated by the refugee and migrant children were analyzed through the lens of language rights, understood as a constituent part of human rights (May, 2005; Kymlicka, 2001a, 2001b) in which the individual and group rights prevail over the language itself.

What I have found is that education in the multilingual context of Europe has not received enough attention in Hungary. Although the Hungarian official policy is hostile to immigration, it still receives migrants from different backgrounds. The education policy continues to be based on principles of the monolingual habitus, which puts distance between the goal of integration and the teaching practices that are implemented in the classroom. As these migrant children do not know Hungarian, the language of the host country, they are not able to follow the contents of the subjects in the school and are left behind, making their integration very difficult. This is a conflicting situation that calls for a comparative analysis of the language policies of the member states of the European Union in the future in order to recognize and accept a philosophy of language that is aware of the diversity as an investment to strengthen the economic and social structures of the society.

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